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# AMERICAN SOCIALIST

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## First Battle For Free Press Is Won; U. S. Judge Hand Orders Mails Opened

GRAT and glad news for every lover of a free and outspoken press comes from the United States District Court room of Judge Learned Hand in New York City.

Judge Hand has decided that The Masses, one of the score of Socialist, radical and pacifist publications held up by the post office department, has a right to go thru the mails.

He has granted an injunction restraining Postmaster Thomas G. Patten of the New York City post office from interfering with the mailing of all copies of the August issue of The Masses, which is a Socialist illustrated satirical magazine. This August issue had been barred from the mails under the postmaster's interpretation of the censorship clause of the espionage act.

This decision is a stupendous triumph for the free press of America. It provides a foundation upon which every other publication interfered with by the post office will be able to build a successful defense in protection of its constitutional rights.

This decision takes its place side by side with that of Judge Rose, of Baltimore, Md., in the case of a leaflet held unmailable by the post office. Judge Rose declared that, "This leaflet contains nothing whatever to warrant a criminal charge. Every man has a right, if he chooses, to criticize adversely any system of society or any law, so long as he obeys that law while it remains a law."

The decisions of Judges Hand and Rose and the statement of Judge Herron, of the attorney general's department in Washington, all emphasize the great conflict between the department of justice and the post office department in the interpretation of the espionage law.

Not one editor, not a single publisher has been indicted for violation of this law and the department of justice has given its opinion that there is nothing indictable in the papers barred from the mails. Yet the post office department, using this same law, has declared these same publications unmailable.

Judge Hand, from the bench, declared that if the papers contained anything criminal the editors should be indicted, if they contained nothing criminal they should be allowed the use of the mails. He gave it as his opinion that the post office officials had stretched the law in order to bar the mails to the papers suppressed.

The opinion of Judge Hand sustained every count made by Gilbert E. Roe, attorney for The Masses, in its fight against the post office censor. Earl B. Barnes, assistant United States district attorney, had presented affidavits from William H. Lamar, solicitor general of the United States postoffice department, and Postmaster General Burleson, in which they specified the offending contributions to be four cartoons, "Liberty Bell," "Conscription," "Making the World Safe for Capitalism" and "Congress and Big Business," as well as four articles, "A Question," "A Tribute," "Conscientious Objectors" and "Friends of American Freedom."

"Judge Hand took up every one of the articles and the four cartoons and compared them minutely with the statute and decided that they did not violate the law," said Roe in summing up the opinion of 25 pages which had been handed down.

"It is the most important opinion rendered in a long time," he said. "There is nothing sensational in it, but it is a careful, painstaking examination of the articles and cartoons and their meaning. They do not violate the law."

The decision of Judge Hand in no way prevents a repetition of the display of arbitrary power shown by the postoffice department, but it should make the officials more cautious, was Roe's final comment on the decision.

"Other publications can take courage at this verdict in our favor," said Merrill Rogers, business manager. "We knew all along that we had a strong case and we are tickled to death that we have won out. We are glad that the Masses has been able to bear the brunt of the fighting, so that the smaller publications will have an easier task, using this decision as a precedent."

"It is the first break in the wall which we have made in which we can all go thru," said Max Eastman, editor of the Masses. "It shows the thing can be done, and, I think, the government censors will ease up a little, realizing that they can not do everything to us that they would like to."

"It ought to be the beginning of a grand backwash on the whole business which will sweep some of our autocrats out of positions of trust. It is an indication that we can retain a little of our liberties if we are willing enough to fight for them at home."

Merrill Rogers, business manager of the Masses, states that 3,700 copies of the issue which the postmaster seized would immediately be mailed out to the subscribers.

It was only after William H. Lamar, solicitor for the United States postoffice department, refused to specify in what particulars the August issue of the magazine offended the authorities so as to make it unmailable under the provisions of the espionage act, that The Masses Publishing Co. served notice upon Postmaster Patten to appear before Judge Hand, United States district court and show cause why an injunction prohibiting him from denying the publication the right of the mails should not be granted.

Earl B. Barnes, appearing for the authorities, then presented affidavits by Lamar and Postmaster General Burleson in which they specified the offending contributions.

Barnes, in the course of his argument, devoted some time to the cartoon "Making the World Safe for Capitalism", which represents Root and Russell aided by England and Japan endeavoring to restrain the new democracy of Russia.

"If," he said, "this cartoon was sent to Russia it would in all probability warn that country to have nothing to do with the American mission sent to Russia for the purpose of having her resume an offensive against Germany."

At this the judge interposed, saying that according to such reasoning, any expression of opinion on the result of the Root commission was a crime.

Barnes held that, altho any attempt of congress to restrict opinion might be declared unconstitutional, it clearly had the right to prevent the mail being used for the purpose of propagating opinions detrimental to the interests of the country, and that things which are not contrary to the law may be excluded from the mails. Regarding the "Liberty Bell" cartoon, he said: "It is offensive in that it shows that time honored relic in a state of complete collapse."

Gilbert E. Roe, counsel for The Masses, told the court he believed the

judge had a great opportunity to render signal service to the country by interpreting this law.

"The issue is clearly defined," he said, "that it was the intent of congress to exclude from the mails anything thought to interfere with the prosecution of the war. If it is the purpose of congress that any discussion of the war, peace, the terms of peace and all the questions arising out of the war that are at present agitating the country are against the law, then the postoffice is right."

He denied that such was congress' purpose and said, "The postoffice has done what it was previously refused authority by congress to do."

"This is a spy bill which was to apply to spies giving information that would hinder the forces of the United States, such as misleading the commander of an army, and it was not the intention of congress that it should apply to ordinary newspapers and criticism. The authorities, instead of saying 'obey the law and keep your mouth shut,' should have made it clear what could and what could not be done."

Later reports declare that the postoffice officials in New York City have gone into another court and secured an order to stop "The Masses" from going thru the mails. We have received no details, before going to press, concerning this latest move.

Pending the outcome of this legal battle in New York City we are informed by our Washington representative that the Department of Justice is holding back the promised statement on the application of the espionage law.

In the meantime the investigation of the postoffice department's attitude toward the Socialist press, sought by Representative Meyer London, has been rejected by the house.

The House Committee on Post Office and Post Roads, to which London's resolution was referred, consists of 21 members. Three meetings of the committee failed to develop a quorum.

Finally at the meeting on July 23, with but five members including the chairman present, the committee decided to take up London's resolution.

### Burleson Opposes Giving Facts

Postmaster General A. S. Burleson sent a communication to the committee recommending that London's resolution be reported adversely to the House. Burleson's letter follows:

"Post Office Department,  
"Office of the Postmaster General,  
"Washington, D. C., July 21, 1917.  
"Hon. John A. Moon,  
"Chairman of Committee on the  
Post Office and Post Roads,  
House of Representatives.

"My dear Mr. Moon: Referring to House resolution No. 115, introduced by Mr. London on the 10th instant and now before your committee, and with regard to which you ask my views, I have to advise you that I feel this resolution should be reported adversely to the House.

"The act approved June 15, 1917 (espionage law), made certain matter nonmailable. The Post Office Department is proceeding to enforce this law. Certain newspapers and periodicals as well as circular matter have been declared by this department to be nonmailable under this act, and the department is considering various other similar matter upon which action is being taken.

"It appears that the second paragraph of the resolution, calling for a list of publications and other matter which have up to this time been declared nonmailable, must be read and considered in connection with the third paragraph, which reads as follows:

"Has any reason been assigned to the publisher or publishers, writer or writers, of any of the said publications at the time the privileges of the mails were denied, and if any such reason has been assigned information as to the reason or reasons so assigned."

"With respect to the third paragraph, I have to advise you that the postmasters at the places of publication of newspapers and periodicals, and the postmasters who submit other nonmailable matter, are advised (where the matter is found to come within the prohibited classes under the law) that it is nonmailable under the act of June 15, 1917 (espionage law). Postmasters are being instructed to notify each publisher promptly when his publication is held at the post office pending a ruling from the department as to its mailability. These cases were disposed of as quickly as possible here. Postmasters submitting such publications are advised by telegraph of the action of the department and the publishers promptly notified by them of the result.

"In view of certain information in the possession of the Government and investigations now being conducted with respect to some publications which have been declared nonmailable, as well as others now under consideration, I deem it incompatible with the public interest to disclose any further matter called for.

The "remarks" of Judge Rose, submitted to the committee by Burleson were made when he ordered the jury to return a verdict of not guilty in the case of Romanus E. Baker and Jacob M. Wilhide, of Hagerstown, Maryland.

Baker and Wilhide, prior to registration day, for distributing a leaflet, were arrested by Federal agents charged with conspiracy to prevent the

in the second and third paragraphs of the resolution.

"I also deem it incompatible with the public interest to disclose at this time the instructions issued by this department to or any correspondence with local postmasters with respect to matters growing out of the enforcement of this law or the correspondence between the Post Office Department and other departments of the Government relative to the matter, as called for in the fourth and fifth paragraphs of the resolution.

"I will state generally with respect to the action of the department that no newspaper or periodical has been denied the privilege of the mails as such. Particular issues of certain publications have been found to contain matter which would interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces of the United States or to promote the success of its enemies, or cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty in the military or naval forces of the United States, or obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States, or matter advocating or urging treason, insurrection, or forcible resistance to some law of the United States, and therefore nonmailable under the act in question. Publishers have been so advised whenever they have asked the department for the reasons for declaring their publications nonmailable.

"In the administration of this law nothing has been done by this department to suppress free criticism, right or wrong, of the Government, nor has the department attempted in any way to interfere with the legitimate expression of views which do not coincide with those of the Government in the matter of the war with Germany or any other matter.

"Any publisher who may question the validity of the rulings of the Post Office Department has the courts open to him for a review of any action which may have been taken under the law. A publication called The Masses has already filed a bill in the Federal court for the southern district of New York, asking an injunction to restrain the execution of an order of the department to the postmaster at New York City to treat its August issue as nonmailable.

"Attached will be found a copy of the very recent remarks of Judge Rose, in the Federal court in Baltimore, which will doubtless be of interest to your committee, altho made in a criminal case where the matter in question did not pass thru the mails.

"Very truly yours,  
"A. S. BURLESON,  
Postmaster General."

enforcement of the conscription law. They were tried before Judge Rose, in the United States District Court for the district of Maryland, on July 11.

### Famous Decision By Judge Rose

Judge Rose held that Baker and Wilhide had not violated the espionage law in distributing the leaflet. His remarks in ordering the jury to return a verdict of not guilty, submitted by Burleson in an implied justification of his conduct in suppressing the Socialist papers, were as follows:

The Court. I might as well make perfectly clear what I understand to be the issue in the case.

Every man has a perfect right to any opinion he may see fit to form about any proposed law or about any law that is on the statute books. Any man may do anything, in itself legal, to secure the repeal of any law in force. To that end he may make any argument that commends itself to his reason and judgment against the policy of any particular law, whether it be the law for a selective draft or any other. And he is not answerable for the wisdom of his arguments. He could not very well be put on trial even for the good faith of some of them. I am afraid, if he could be, most of the political orators in every campaign would be liable for much they say about the other party. We all of us say more against our political opponents than we really believe. But there is one limit: As long as the law is the law, it is the duty of every man to obey it, and he may not, under color or pretense of arguing against the wisdom of the law, or of advocating its repeal, do anything with intent to procure its violation. Now, I have not seen these circulars that were distributed by the defendants; they may be wise or unwise, temperate or intemperate. I do not know a thing about them.

But the one thing the jury is to inquire into is not as to the wisdom or the lack of wisdom of any statements in these circulars, or their truthfulness or their fairness. That is not the question. The one sole question in the case is whether these men, in anything they did, intended to persuade them not to obey the order to come to the colors. That is the one question. So the real inquiry here is, Can the Government show, always beyond a reasonable doubt, that these men were trying to persuade people to disobey the law? Whether they approached candidates for enlistment or persons within the age for enlistment and made any statements to such persons which might naturally make such persons reluctant to obey the law, is one of the facts to be taken into consideration by the jury; but the jury can not convict unless they are satisfied, of course, beyond a reasonable doubt, that these men were engaged in doing something which they purposed and intended should prevent men within the military age from obeying the law. If the jury is satisfied beyond a reasonable doubt, that the case is made out, if they have any doubt about the purpose of these men, they must acquit them, however mistaken the jury may happen to think they were about the policy of the law, however unfair or extravagant the jury may think their arguments against it were.

I do not think there is anything to go to the jury in this case.

You may have your own opinions about that circular; I have very strong individual opinions about it,

When Chairman Moon concluded reading Burleson's communication, Representative London made a short argument in favor of his resolution.

Representative Steenerson thereupon made a motion that the resolution be reported adversely. The other four members present, out of the complete membership of 21, supported Steenerson's motion. The point of no quorum was not raised. Therefore the action of the five members present stood as the action of the committee.

The adverse report made the same day follows:

"MATTER ALLEGED TO BE UNMAILABLE UNDER THE ESPIONAGE LAW.

"July 23, 1917—Ordered to be printed.

"Mr. Moon, from the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, submitted the following report:

"(To accompany H. Res. 115.)

"Mr. Moon, of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, to which committee resolution No. 115 was referred, reports the resolution by order of the committee back to the House with the recommendation that the resolution be not agreed to and that the same lie on the table, together with the letter of the Postmaster General attached as an exhibit thereto and made a part of this report.

"The Postmaster General, in reply

The adverse report of the committee kills London's resolution. He may get an opportunity to address the House upon its merits and thus direct attention to the wholesale suppression of Socialist papers. But the Democratic majority is not friendly enough to the growing strength of Socialism to consume much time over the slaughter of a dozen or more Socialist papers.

and as to the wisdom and fairness of what is said there; but so far as I can see it is principally a circular intended to induce people to subscribe to Socialist newspapers and to get recruits for the Socialist Party. I do not think that we ought to attempt to prosecute people for that kind of thing. It may be very unwise in its effect, and it may be unpatriotic at that particular time and place, but it would be going very far indeed, further, I think, than any law that I know of would justify, to hold that there has been made out any case here even tending to show that there was an attempt to persuade men not to obey the law.

There is a very lurid description of the horrors of war in that circular, some of it well written, some of it not so well written. But, after all, there is no difference of opinion that war is a terrible catastrophe, and involves many terrible things. The circular develops some sort of a theory, not very clearly argued out, that if everybody had voted the Socialist ticket there would have been no war. The circular ends up with an appeal to subscribe to the Socialist paper for 50 cents a year, or 25 cents for every six months.

Mr. Latane. The side of it that appealed to the Government was this, your honor. Of course we are perfectly satisfied with your honor's determination of the matter, but just in explanation, it starts out with the words "Conscription is upon us and the war draft law is a fact."

The Court. That I understand to be a fair and reasonable deduction that from the point of view it could be avoided if the people earlier had taken this Socialist paper and had voted the Socialist ticket.

Mr. Latane. The point that occurred to the Government is this: These people are too clever to directly, in print, attack the draft law, so under guise of advocating the principles of the Socialist Party, they give the whole draft proposition a very raw deal.

The Court. That is possible, but you must prove the intent beyond the possibility of a reasonable doubt.

Mr. Latane. All we want is to get some judicial determination of the matter.

The Court. The judicial determination of the matter is that in whatever form they put what they say or do, whether that of advocating the principles of any political party—Republican, Democratic, Prohibitionist, Socialist—or under any other guise whatsoever, it is an offense to do anything with the intent of bringing about a violation to the law, but the commission of an offense must be proved, the intent must be established by evidence which will justify a jury in holding that it was made out beyond a reasonable doubt, and in this case there is no such evidence.

Gentlemen of the jury, you have the instructions of the court to return a verdict of not guilty.



## Rena Mooney Innocent—Tide Turns In Anti-Labor Plot

THE TIDE has turned in the San Francisco anti-labor conspiracy—the working class is going to have its day—RENA MOONEY IS FREE—acquitted by the jury that heard the cleverly framed up case against her.

The American Socialist extends its congratulations to Mrs. Mooney and to the five other defendants in the gigantic "Frame-up" growing out of the preparedness parade bomb explosion, the blame for which the big business interests tried to fasten on the organized labor movement.

The American Socialist also extends its congratulations to the entire organized labor movement, political and economic, for its unwavering fight for justice against the organized industrial masters of the Pacific Coast and their "Million Dollar Corruption Fund".

### Now Ready To Quit.

Seven other indictments are pending against Mrs. Mooney but the indications are that these will no doubt be dropped. The plotters are evidently ready to quit.

Thomas J. Mooney, her husband, and Warren K. Billings, have been convicted and sentenced, respectively, to death and life imprisonment. But this was before the entire frame-up became evident thru the exposure of the prosecution's star witness, OXMAN. Their cases have been appealed. They will be set free.

As the foreman announced the verdict of "Not Guilty", Mrs. Mooney, a young and accomplished music teacher, jumped from her seat and kissed each juror. Friends, relatives and her attorneys showered her with congratulations.

### Defeat For Big Business.

Big business lost. The most cunningly conceived conspiracy against the toiling masses by the powers that prey has been frustrated.

This victory should lead to the early release of both Mooney and Billings.

Let us repeat here one of the big incidents in this history making trial.

While the shadow of the gallows still hung dark over the jury box, where sat 12 men who had heard Mrs. Rena Mooney branded a murderer, Attorney Maxwell McNutt leaped from his chair and with a dramatic flourish of his hands brushed away that shadow.

The jury had just been asked by inference to hang Mrs. Mooney.

McNutt exclaimed:

"Gentlemen, before those words grow cold on your ears let me ask you if you are to be parties to an assassination. Are you going to be parties to an injustice such as led to the French revolution? Listen! Even now you can hear coming across the ocean the clanking of manacles as they drop from the wrists of men who had been sent to their dungeons by inhuman Fickert."

McNutt's outburst came upon the tense courtroom as a thunderbolt. It was one of the most dramatic moments ever witnessed in a San Francisco courtroom. McNutt was pitched to a high dramatic force by the speech of District Attorney Fickert which had just ended.

He continued:

Mrs. Mooney Is Innocent.

"That woman is innocent. Don't sympathize with her."

"Treat her as you would a man. Mr. Fickert has spoken of her as the Mrs. Suratt of this conspiracy. Remember that once a court martial sentenced that Mrs. Suratt to die as a member of the Abraham Lincoln plot and remember that every historian agrees that Mrs. Suratt was not guilty."

"She knew of a kidnapping plot, but the greatest legal and historic lights have since agreed that she was not guilty. You are asked to hang Mrs. Mooney because Alexander Berkman is an anarchist. Mr. Fickert has talked of the days of '61 and the anarchists of that time."

"My only claim to patriotism is that my ancestors fought for the Union but if the men who seceded from the states in those days were anarchists, if Stonewall Jackson was an anarchist I would to God that my bones may rot beside those men's."

Praises Minor's Efforts.

"Gentlemen, the district attorney has woven a rope of sand and asks you to make it a rope of hemp and hang this woman with it. You are

porters, jailers, etc., took the stand and testified that the principal prosecution witnesses were utterly depraved characters and could not be depended upon in such a vital matter as a murder trial.

In explanation of his coming forward to testify as to the reputation of John McDonald, Captain Regua said, "I wondered how any one would hang a man on the testimony of such a fellow."

"I wouldn't believe him if he swore

Peter Debois, known as the Socialist boy orator of Muskegon, Mich., arrested for the federal authorities because it is declared he urged in a street speech a revolution by the working men of America, both to end the present world war and the reign of the high cost of living, has been released following the refusal of federal agents of Grand Rapids to prefer any charge against him.

Bisbee suspected of sympathizing with the strikers, and also the one lawyer in the camp who dared to represent the striking miners in the courts of Bisbee, Cochise county, and at Phoenix, the state capital. The indignant citizens were the organized guards of the Copper Queen company, backed by a few lickspittles among the business men of the city, and by the county officials who owed their election to the powerful influence of the corporation.

These citizens of the United States were deported acrossstate lines over their protest and against their will; they have committed no crimes, nor have they been accused of any crime, unless refusal to work under the oppressive terms laid down by the Phelps-Dodge syndicate is crime. Let us not deceive ourselves. This is not an isolated instance, an action necessary to meet an extraordinarily dangerous situation. In the past we have been faced with the same alternative

At a special meeting of the school board of Clinton, Iowa, J. A. Kalnin, who for two years had been on the faculty of the High School and had been re-engaged for a third year, was removed for his attitude toward the war. It was stated by the Board that Mr. Kalnin's ability, character and morality were not questioned, but alleged charges of disloyalty had been made against him. Mr. Kalnin affirmed his allegiance to the government and the Constitution, making a declaration which was all that one citizen should reasonably demand of another, but he unhesitatingly expressed his opposition to the war and to conscription, advocating not an opposition to its enforcement but the right to ask its repeal. By a vote of 4 to 2 he was dismissed and his contract cancelled.

Notable is the case of the Cananea Copper Company, of Sonora, Mexico, whose own statement shows a net profit over all expenses of seven million dollars for the year of 1916 over the preceding year. A bullion tax of \$1,000,000 was levied by the Government, which the company refused to pay, and closed its works.

Joseph Zimmerman, state organizer of the Indiana Socialist Party, was one of those indicted recently for alleged violation of the espionage law. He is being held in \$2,500 bail. It is asserted that his arrest is the result of a speech made on the streets of Gary, the big steel city in northern Indiana.

### Weather Forecast—Food Riots And Police



By RYAN WALKER

### HOW THE TIDE TURNED IN THE ANTI-LABOR FRAME-UP

July 22, 1916—Bomb exploded during preparedness parade, killing 10 and injuring scores of persons.

July 26, 1916—Big business immediately puts blame on organized labor and Warren K. Billings and Edward D. Nolan, labor unionists and Israel Weinberg, jitney driver, arrested, charged with murder.

July 27, 1916—Thomas J. Mooney, his wife, arrested, the former for murder, the latter charged with complicity in murder.

Sept. 23, 1916—Warren K. Billings, convicted of murder.

Oct. 8, 1916—Billings sentenced to life imprisonment.

Feb. 10, 1917—Thomas Mooney convicted of murder.

Feb. 25, 1917—Mooney sentenced to be hanged May 17.

April 18, 1917—Frank C. Oxman, star witness against Mooney, arrested on complaint of F. E. Rigall, Grayville, Ill., for suborning perjury. Oxman held to answer to super jury court. Stay of execution secured, preventing carrying out life sentence on Mooney.

May 21, 1917—Mrs. Rena Mooney placed on trial for complicity in murder.

JULY 25, 1917—MRS. MOONEY FOUND "NOT GUILTY."

shown this gentleman Robt. Minor and told he was a murderer.

"He had given up the prospect of a \$15,000 a year salary. He had given up comforts, everything. He has barely enough to live upon—and all for the cause of keeping innocent people from the gallows."

"If you believe Mr. Fickert, then truth is a matter of race and geography. He has told you that our alibi witnesses are all Russians—that they are Jews and not to be believed. Remember that! Jews and not to be believed, but in two days we placed on the stand people of every race and nationality."

### Perjurers Impeached.

The impeachment of the main prosecution perjurers was perfect. Former employers, police sergeants, social workers, fellow employees, re-

himself black in the face," a former friend of his, Fred Jacot testified. "McDonald is an awful liar. He's a menace to society," J. Millman, a Southern Pacific baggage master testified.

"I employed McDonald out of sheer pity," said Fred Bantz. "I didn't put him in any position of trust, however; his reputation was too bad."

Numerous other witnesses gave similar testimony.

Prostitute Unmasked. Estelle Smith was impeached very successfully. The impeaching witnesses were very impressive, from the Los Angeles police sergeant who first saw Estelle in the "tank" of Los Angeles county jail, when she was awaiting trial on a murder charge, down to the newspaper men and women who interviewed her in her halcyon days after the explosion, when she was masquerading as a "patriotic Italian beauty from the Blue Grass."

These interviews she gave after she "identified" Warren K. Billings and Rena Mooney, directly contradicted the different perjuries of the Southern prostitute. When confronted with them on the witness stand, she swore she never gave them and that she never even saw the men and women who interviewed her.

Four reporters took the stand and proved the star a plain liar.

During the impeachment of McDonald it was learned that he is now on the San Francisco police force.

The discredited perjurer will enhance the dignity of that body. It is said that he will be added to the detective department and work with "Frame-up" Steve Bunner and Sadie Edeau's graceful cavalier, Draper Hand.

A Cold-Blooded Avowal. Listen to this statement of Prosecutor Ferrari:

"Even if we are not able to prove beyond the shadow of a reasonable doubt that this particular group of people are responsible for this particular crime, if we can prove that the motive which actuated the bomb outrage is identical with or similar to that which lay behind the former acts of these people, we shall still feel justified in asking the jury to bring in a verdict of guilty as charged."

This confession of the Chamber of Commerce that it can't prove anything pertaining to the crime, that Rena Mooney is charged with, but demands that she be murdered in any way, is the most cold-blooded avowal they have made as yet.

The fact that Rena Mooney did her share in defending Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone, Ettor, Ford, Suhr, John Lawson and all the other victims of the labor war, was depended upon to "hang her by the neck until she is dead."

But the efforts of the plunderbund failed.

Socialists of Providence, Rhode Island, were just a little surprised and amused to find that a dictograph had been installed in their headquarters, and at that, behind a picture of Karl Marx. The discovery was made by accident, a boat excursion to Newport which is taken annually by the Socialist Local, made it necessary to remove the flags that usually drape the picture of Marx. On one side was the Stars and Stripes, on the other side the flag of human brotherhood. When the flags were removed the "dict" was found. Each member of the local took home as a souvenir a piece of the wire, which was connected with a neighboring house building known as the "Rhode Island Hospital Building." The instrument itself, made by the "Globe Ear Phone Co., Boston, Mass." was exhibited to the vast crowd in the mass meeting held the same night.

S. S. McDonald, president of the North Dakota State Federation of Labor, and William English, secretary-treasurer of that organization, both employees of the Grand Forks Herald, have been discharged by that paper on account of action taken by the Federation in endorsing the North Dakota Nonpartisan League.

In summer prepare for winter, is the slogan of Davenport, Iowa, Socialists who have brought the proposition of a municipally owned coal yard once more to the attention of the city council.

### Justice Under "The System" That Rules San Francisco

"IF THE THING WERE DONE THAT OUGHT TO BE DONE, THE WHOLE DIRTY, LOW-DOWN BUNCH WOULD BE TAKEN OUT AND STRUNG UP WITHOUT CEREMONY."

This extraordinary statement was made to John A. Fitch, special representative of The New York Survey, a conservative sociological weekly, by Assistant District Attorney Ed. Cunha, who prosecuted Tom Mooney in the San Francisco anti-labor conspiracy.

He added: "They're a bunch of dirty anarchists and they ought to be in jail on general principles. I'm disgusted with all this outcry about Mooney—making a hero out of him, when he's an anarchist and a murderer. If I knew that every witness that testified against Mooney had perjured himself in his testimony, I wouldn't lift a finger to get him a new trial."

"And now people like Judge Griffin are going around saying he ought to have a new trial. Judge Griffin almost cried on the bench because we searched the Blast office without a warrant. I regret that I didn't murder Berkman."

This is a synopsis of the diatribe Cunha shouted when Mr. Fitch asked him what answer he had to the frame-up charges and the indictment of Oxman.

It is an eloquent interpretation of the prosecution's standpoint. "To hell with the law," Inspector Burke said in Veiller's famous play, "Within the Law," when he was caught with "the goods." Cunha's utterance amounts to the same thing. Nolan, Billings, Weinberg and the Mooneys have fought the profiteers of the Pacific Coast, so they should be lynched!

The prosecution is unmasked! The assassins are in plain sight!

### The Rule Of Copper

(From The United Mine Workers' Journal.)

The news columns of the daily press carried the story, featured under glaring headlines—"1,200 I. W. U. agitators deported from Bisbee, Arizona."

"Itinerant strike fomenters forced to leave town by indignant citizens"; "Patriotic citizens resent enemy-instigated interference with legitimate business," and so forth, the intimation intended to be conveyed by stories and headlines—that an army of men from distant parts had invaded the town of Bisbee; that this invasion was directed and financed by enemies of this country; presumably by German agents; that indignant miners and other citizens of Bisbee and vicinity had risen in resentment of this foreign interference and had driven the enemy agents from the camp.

But the truth could not be entirely concealed in spite of the fact that a censorship has been established by the managers of the great Copper Queen mines and smelters, owned and operated by the Phelps Dodge syndicate, a corporation with headquarters in New York, that absolutely dominates the government of Arizona, and the influence of which is so powerful in national affairs that we have serious doubts if the federal government will attempt to control its high handed assumption of autocratic power.

It transpired that 312 of the deported men had with them their registration cards, that 142 of these heralded German agents carried receipts that showed they had invested their little savings in United States liberty bonds, and finally—that all of the deported men were residents of Bisbee, most of them striking miners who had been offered the choice of returning to work on the terms of the management of the mines, against which terms they had been on strike, or deportation from the town and the state. Others were business men of

THE miners of Bisbee have from the beginning been denied their right to join with each other and other workers in the industry for self-advancement. Not only the miners of Bisbee, but those in every camp controlled by the Phelps-Dodge syndicate.

It is this corporation that controls the coal mines at Dawson, New Mexico. In 1913 an explosion occurred in one of the mines at Dawson, in which 280 miners were killed. At that time the miners of Colorado, engaged in a great struggle for economic freedom, were on strike.

The rescue teams of Sopris, Colo., were among the strikers, but they eagerly volunteered their aid to penetrate the wrecked mines, to rescue any who might be alive, and to recover the bodies of the dead.

The managers accepted the proffered aid only after exacting the promise that no mention of unionism should be made during the stay in camp.

This studied insult did not deter the union miners from aiding in the work of rescue; two of them paid with their lives for their devotion, were killed while attempting to explore the workings for the living or the dead victims of this explosion.

THE first internment camp established in this country is populated by American citizens, men with a stake in the country, wives and children in the homes they were driven from; men who are only suspected of opposing the autocratic rule of a corporation composed of stockholders who have their residences in every country in the eastern as well as the western hemisphere.

At this writing it appears that the federal government refuses to take any action when so powerful a corporation, representing hundreds of millions in wealth and correspondingly great economic power chooses to arrogate to itself authority, the exercise of which upon the helpless Belgians by the Germans we have stigmatized as a national crime, an atrocity that merits censure and punishment even tho it requires all the power of the civilized world to correct.

From the Arizona state government we need expect no relief. Governor Campbell holds his office by favor of the copper syndicate and in spite of the votes of the people of Arizona. It is well known that George W. P. Hunt was reelected to the office that he honored by enforcing the law for all alike, by the votes of the people of Arizona; but he had offended the powerful copper interests of Arizona; he had refused to permit alien armies of hired guards to perpetrate the will of the copper companies in lieu of the law, upon the mining communities in the Clifton-Metacalf-Morronei field. Therefore, an attempt was made to defeat him, first at the primaries of his party, next in the election. In spite of the votes of the majority of the electors, he was counted out. Governor Campbell recognize that he owes his present position to the copper syndicates especially in the Phelps-Dodge company; there is no hope from that quarter.

Reform the federal government.

### SEED CATALOGUE.

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## WHO SHALL PAY?

SEVENTEEN billion dollars—perhaps twenty billion dollars—is the price we must pay for our first year in the war, says Secretary McAdoo. This is merely the ante; we have not yet begun to bet. Seventeen billion dollars a year—what does that mean? For every man, woman and child out of our hundred millions, it means that one hundred and seventy dollars must be paid this year for our entry into the war. And we have only begun.

For a man and wife, \$340 must be paid. A man with a wife and three children—the normal working class family, according to government estimates—must pay EIGHT HUNDRED AND FIFTY DOLLARS, as the price for our participation in the war—This Year!

Eight hundred and fifty dollars is the average income of the ordinary working class family. If all of that must be paid to carry on the war, what shall the man, with his wife and his three children, live upon during the year of fighting that this bill pays for?

WHO IS to pay the \$850 that every working class family of normal size must have to live upon, if they must be taxed, in order to meet the cost of our entry into the war, the full amount of their income?

The big incomes will not pay it. They have notified the government thru their executive committee, the United States Senate, that big incomes must not be taxed "excessively," as it would "cripple incentive;" and the Senate carefully strikes out of every bill for taxation anything that might "cripple the incentive" to the Greater Thievery.

Who shall pay? The big industries will not pay it. Coal men in Illinois have defied the state to make them lower the price of coal, which has already been declared confiscatory and excessive by two cabinet departments—the war and the navy; and they have appealed to their special representative—the Secretary of the Interior—to protect them in their God-given right to gouge.

Who shall pay? The Steel Trust will not pay; the Copper Trust will not pay. Already two high heads in the quarrel over the outrageous prices demanded by the steel trust, Goethals and Denney, were dismissed over a \$35 per ton difference in the price of steel. The copper barons threatened by the government by confiscation and by the workers with a strike, have defied both and set law and order at naught.

Who is left to pay? The poor CANNOT pay; the rich WILL NOT pay. And posterity with this huge debt saddled upon it, will be both unwilling and unable to pay.

What is the answer? The big incomes must be confiscated. All natural resources must be seized. Profit out of the lives and the deaths of men must be ended! Who shall do this? Who—but Socialism?

WHILE billions are being spent like breaths of air, shall you begrudge the little that will bring you freedom?

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST struggles for its existence against every hostile power. Will you, who have been taxed these staggering, stupendous sums, begrudge the little we ask for your help?

Only in one way can our power be extended; and that is by increasing our circulation, by enlisting thousands and tens of thousands among our readers. The silent messenger comes to every house and home, stays there for days and for weeks, and makes converts where wordy arguments fail. Help us—the time is now, and the need is great. Work for THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST. Use our subscription blank below. Work hard—work now.

The future depends on you!

### From The Firing Line

Comrade Frank S. LaMonte, Evansville, Ind., sends in a list of 14 "Birthdays Week" subs. He says these were obtained, not by hustling, "but by reason of the people demanding that I give them money for subs." The Vanderburgh County local is planning to start a weekly at Evansville, and he calls it "Freedom."

"We are greatly interested in your fight for a free press and assure you that you have our hearty moral support," writes Attorney Howard H. Hulse, Chicago, Ill., as he sends in some subs.

Sixteen "Birthdays Week" roll in from Louisville, Ky., as a result of the efforts of Comrade George Munz.

Comrade C. M. Booth, Minnesota, sends in a list of eight yearlings. He says: "I think our paper is just splendid. Such papers are certainly needed in these times of stress and strain, and for the maintenance of our rights and a true democracy."

"These came to me unsolicited and I am not noisy enough to come to you," writes C. W. Farnham, Kansas, as he sends in his list of "Birthdays Week" subs.

Comrade E. G. Shontz, Shamokin, Pa., sold a bundle of 25 American Socialist papers on the streets of his city without any difficulty. He is going to do this every week.

"Never mind that little affair of suppression. Just keep on going," writes George R. Moffat, Connecticut, as he sends in a list of 26 subs and "Hopes to send more soon."

"The American Socialist deserves and needs the cooperation of all comrades. It is by means of a strong press that we can educate the ignorant masses," writes Comrade Jack Redford, Connecticut, in sending in his sub list.

"I cannot afford to be without our valuable paper," says Comrade E. C. Moore, New York, as he renounces his old paper and sends in his sub list.

"The sales are increasing—that's why I have to increase my order. We hope it never stops growing," writes Comrade Homer F. Abbott, Literature Secretary, at Anderson, Ind.

"I read a copy of The American Socialist that was handed me and agree with you, word for word. It is the way a letter starts out that comes from the heart," writes Comrade Ben Richman, New York, sends in a sub as "A preliminary gift to get another man into the ranks of the fighters for real democracy."

Local Treasurer Eskel Rohn, of Superior, Wis., orders 250 copies weekly until further notice.

"It is easier to get subs for The American Socialist than for any other Socialist paper during the 15 years it has been in the job," writes Comrade Martin Anderson, Minneapolis, Minn.

Comrade Leonard R. Ling, Illinois, joins those who send in a list of 15 to celebrate our Birthday Week.

"We sure like to read our paper and believe it tells the straight facts," accompanies a list of subs from Comrade W. P. Akens, Ark.

Many of our hustlers are urging that all Socialists quit reading the jingo dailies and give their entire support to Socialist publications. That is what we have always been saying.

### Wanted--Agents

POWERENE Equal to Gasoline at 5 Cents Per Gallon

Powerene is guaranteed to be equal to gasoline at 5¢ a gallon, remove any petrol, carbon and to be harmless to all metals. Powerene makes a motor fuel which saves repairs, adds speed and power, doubling the life of all gasoline motors. An amount equal to 20 gallons of gasoline sent prepaid to any address in the U. S. for \$1.00. Salesmen and agents wanted.

W. Porter Barnes, Santa Rosa, Cal., Dept. 4.

### "SHALL J. P. MORGAN OWN THE EARTH?"

—a booklet which tells how, unless people wake up, every middle-class person may quickly be dispossessed of wealth and reduced to slavery. Startling reproductions from official government reports PROVE the facts. Price of booklet, 50 cents; money back if not satisfied. Testimonials free. Agents wanted.

JACK PANSHY, Publisher, 307-A, Grand Rapids, Mich.

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3 to 25 H.P.—No Wasting—Big Savings—  
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Solicitor Lamar of the post office department is presumed to be a Democrat, serving, as he is, under a Democratic administration. The greatest Democrat—Thomas Jefferson—once said: "Error can be tolerated if opinion is left free to combat it." But Jefferson was probably a "traitor."—From the Nonpartisan Leader.

## Russia and Socialists Of Entente Watch U. S. Stand On Stockholm Conference

By RAYMOND E. SWING.

(Special Cable to The Chicago Daily News.)

Paris, France, July, 25.—The new Stockholm peace conference, for which European socialists are working, confronts America with one of the vital problems of the war. As with the former conference, in this instance also Britain and France will be influenced by the decision of the American state department; but more than before are profound issues affected by the American course, for should the conference fail to assemble, not only would the Kerensky regime in Russia, which to-day is practically socialist, be seriously imperiled, but the hostility of the British and French socialists, both in their relation to their own governments and also to the American, may be the direct outcome.

Russia, which convokes this conference, understands the motives behind Washington's previous decision, not to permit American socialist participation by denying passports to the American party delegates.

This conference is not restricted to American socialists alone. The invitation was issued not only to the international socialists, whose headquarters were at Brussels, but to the international labor federations, whose headquarters before the war were in Berlin to which belongs the American Federation of Labor. In other words, Kerensky has invited American labor as such to take part in a discussion of the economic considerations of war and peace, affecting the family of the world's workmen of whatever political faith.

Russian delegates already are in England discussing the conference with the English labor party, and are coming in a few days with some English representatives to Paris. There is some opposition formally among both English and French socialists to the acceptance of American non-socialist labor delegates, but this will not block their acceptance if America wishes to send them; for European socialists understand that the American labor movement is in no wise comparable in political character with the European socialist movement.

Kerensky's Difficulties Great.

Kerensky's new regime in Russia is faced with difficulties far greater than is usually realized. The Russian revolution, the against the court, for that reason was by no means a pro-war revolution, as it is sometimes interpreted. In fact, the Kerensky has the task of keeping Russia at war, he cannot do this without convincing Russian workmen, soldiers and peasants that he is working for peace as rapidly as conditions permit.

Diplomatically he has already progressed, since he brought about the calling of a series of allies' conferences, at which the revision of the announced peace aims will be discussed, but even here there will be delay, since the first conference set for this month will probably limit its scope to Balkan questions. Russia, in view of this fact, will be represented only by its Paris charge d'affaires.

Kerensky needs more graphic evidence to keep his support. The Russian power to-day is the socialist. Russian workmen believe that international labor organizations are the instruments best adapted to ending the war. Eventually they will be content on the one hand to continue fighting unless they are permitted on the other to give expression to their ideas.

It is frequently said that America's course in entering the war was greatly influenced by the Russian revolution. It is now true that America is in a position greatly to strengthen or imperil the government which that revolution put into power.

U. S. Prestige At Stake.

Then there is the further consideration of America's own prestige as a democracy with European people. Its refusal of passports to the first Stockholm conference was incomprehensible. At first to European socialists it seemed the open desertion of its own democratic principles.

It must be remembered that President Wilson's only sympathetic audience during months of messages preaching the doctrines of humanity were the workmen of Europe. In France and Germany, besides a few intellectuals, it was the socialists who were the chief disseminators of the Wilson propaganda before the United States entered the war. So now it is the common people who believe to-day that America is the great leader in the struggle toward great and just ideas. If America fails in keeping fealty with the common people of Europe she will not play the great part the American people wish at the peace conference.

## Senate Hears Huge Profits Are Made Out Of The Flag



THIS picture shows how it is possible for the profiteers in the manufacture of the flag to make their huge dividends. The firm which farms out flag making to sub-contractors hiring sweat-shop slaves, and which is responsible for the scene depicted above, is the American Flag Co. May the name soon be changed.

These conditions, which make it possible to turn out a flag profit of 500 per cent, are exposed in a report to the U. S. senate by the federal trade commission.

The commission has investigated the sudden rise in the price of American flags at the time the country entered the war. It expressed the opinion that some legislation should protect the public against unreasonable prices resulting not only from unlawful agencies, but from abnormal conditions.

It is pointed out that, while the cost of materials has not increased more than 50 per cent in the last year, the margin of manufacturers on new business has been 500 per cent, some retail dealers have realized 400 per cent allowed to make profits out of the flag manufacturers has been ten times what it was in 1916.

The story of the conditions that result when private manufacturers are allowed to make profits out of the flag is as follows:

Flags by the hundreds of thousands, from the Battery to the Bronx; flags by the tens of millions, from Cape Cod to Frisco bay. All Russia calling for American flags; the demand in France and Britain ten times larger than the supply—and in the United States certain flag manufacturers exacting from three to five times the normal price, while their workers starve.

"I want different work—skirts, aprons, anything except this!" cried Marya Stletsky, looking at me from eyes dull with anxiety. The racing sewing machine chucked-chucked to silence; about it on table and floor billowed a mass of yards of yards of boldly striped muslin.

"Why different work?" I demanded.

The wide, faithful eyes looked toward the inner room, where a half-grown girl and boy sat cutting cloth into squares, tacking hemmed flags to small sticks.

"We fled from Ekaterinorslay during the pogroms," began Marya Stletsky. "The children thought the city was on fire. I never told them different. Across scores of yards of boldly striped muslin."

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"Why different work?" I demanded.

Naturally some of them, several hundred thousand, are wondering just why they should work, and a lot more of them are going to do some brisk thinking along these lines when it gets zero, and there is no coal, or it can only be obtained at a dollar a bucket, and when there is no milk, and eggs are a dollar a dozen, and bread is a quarter a loaf, and wages are not increased in proportion.

The average wage increase in this country does not represent one-tenth the increase in the cost of living; either the cost comes down, or the wage goes up, or we have revolution. Take it or leave, gentlemen of the desk, office and sanctum, but be sure that what you are going to do you must do quickly.

THE RAID that organized greed made when war was declared; a raid to import cheap labor; a raid to abolish child labor legislation; a raid to force workers to work at the gun's muzzle, under guise of patriotism, is meeting its due reply in these nation-wide strikes; and if these dollar patriots imagine that the workers of the free land are going to work and starve and submit because a few fat folks wave a flag and shriek treason when the worker demands a living wage, they are going to have the surprise of their sleek career.

Immediately industry must pay a minimum wage that enables the worker to live decently!

If industry will not do this then the government must take over the traitor industries of the country and operate them for the benefit of the nation, for the good of the workers, and the health and comfort of their families.

It is impossible to magnify the seriousness of this revolt; it is silly to consider it a mere flash in the pan; it is idiotic to attempt to stop it by clapping a few I. W. W. leaders in jail.

IT SHOULD be made an administrative order that any industry that refuses to pay its workers a living wage—any wage, are not talking about a \$3-a-day wage now for that—not these times, a living wage—shall be commandeered, conducted by the government and the workers paid what they deserve, and earn, and require to live in decency.

It will be cheaper, more effective and, finally, better, business for the industries of the nation to do this than to try to fill empty bellies with bayonets, or the flabby breasts of tenement mothers with the milk of drooling advice of some social up-lifter.

The workers of the nation, of the world, are awake today, and they are not going to be skinned much longer. It may be hard on the skinner, but it can't be helped.

The way to stop a hunger riot is to have a barbecue.

You had better start the fires under the hog, brethren.

Canadian Paragraphs

(From The British Columbia Federationist.)

The only way to put a stop to strikes in Canada is for the government to put an end to the conditions that produce strikes—and war profits.

Such colossal profits as are now being made on every hand, by corporations in Canada, were never before equalled in the history of capitalism.

Every daily paper, in every issue, contains ghoulie records of the immense profits being made by food speculators, cold storage artists, mining companies, and mush-room corporations of all kinds engaged in the production of war supplies.

Thanks to some of the members at Ottawa there is now a possibility of a general election, and an opportunity for the elements to preserve some of the elements of Democracy they are supposed to possess.

Inasmuch as the electors have never had a chance to express their contempt for the incapables in charge of the affairs of state at Ottawa since the outbreak of war, the news will be received with general satisfaction among wage-workers.

What the electorate will do when election day comes round is, of course, problematical. But what The Federationist would like to see done is unfit for publication. Words fail.

Upton Sinclair says that after the war is over he will come back and apply for admission into the Socialist party again.

WAR WITHOUT TAX

on Food, Labor or Industry

Will you think or pay? The Nation creates all values—justice demands their use for National Defense—not for private gain. Tax on land values alone with no other taxes whatever will provide entire annual national budget—even five billion dollars. Will force idle land into use. Increase crops. Stimulate industry. Reduce taxes for 85% of the people. Booklet free. NATIONAL SINGLE TAX LEAGUE, Cincinnati. Dept. L

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# Member Of Congress Fears Great Popular Explosion, Says Chicago Tribune

HENRY M. HYDE, writing to The Chicago Tribune from Washington, in quoting a member of congress, says: "Every member of congress with whom I have talked is convinced that sooner or later there will be a great popular explosion growing out of some one or more of the governmental war activities. In every great war the men—or most of them—who take an active part in its early stages presently become objects of popular wrath. None of us at this end of the avenue is ambitious to get caught in the coming storm. When it comes it will sweep cabinet ministers out of office and will surge thru both houses of congress."

## Liebknecht's Imprisonment Among 100 Great Events Of World War

Three years ago this week the great war started in Europe. The Literary Digest reviews this great struggle in its current issue in an article entitled, "The 100 Great Events of the World's Greatest War". It includes among these great events the trial and imprisonment of Karl Liebknecht, German Socialist member of the Reichstag, who was arrested on June 1, 1915, and held for court martial for treasonable utterances in public. On June 28, he was found guilty of treasonable utterances and gross insubordination, and sentenced to 30 months in prison, the minimum penalty. Sentence was later extended about a year longer.

Little has since been heard about Liebknecht except that he was doing the work of a shoe maker. It was recently charged in the Reichstag that he was being starved.

In its summary of the three years of war The Literary Digest says:

"Some millions of men, women, and children have been killed or injured in the three years of hostilities now completed."

"More than 1,500—perhaps 2,000—merchant ships and more than 150 warships have been sunk."

"Large parts of Belgium, Poland, Serbia, and Roumania have been laid waste, besides many fertile and prosperous parts of France, Austria, Germany, Turkey, and Russia."

"National debts have been created by the belligerents which a generation ago would have meant wholesale bankruptcy, and which threaten bankruptcy even now for more than one of them."

"Peaceful industry, commerce, literature, and art, in practically all the European world, have meanwhile been in suspension."

"With the completion of three years of conflict, Germany and her allies find arrayed against them in addition to the ten states which went to war with her in the first months of the conflict, nine others, great and small, including the United States and Brazil; while six others, in consequence of submarine operations, severed relations with her and at times seemed about ready to declare war, and three more declared themselves in a state of benevolent neutrality toward the United States. Following is a list of the three classes:

**At War with Germany**  
Serbia, Montenegro, Russia, France, Belgium, Great Britain, Japan, Portugal, Italy, Arabia (Hejaz), San Marino, Roumania, Monaco, United States, Brazil, Cuba, Panama, Bolivia, Greece.

**Relations with Germany Severed**  
China, Liberia, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Guatemala.  
**Benevolently Neutral Toward the United States**  
Chile, Uruguay, Argentina.

With the opening of the fourth year of the war and the participation of the United States in the conflict, there is considerable speculation as to the cost to this country in money alone.

According to U. S. Senator Smoot, as reported in the Chicago Examiner, this is how the money goes: War appropriations by second session, Sixty-fourth Congress, \$1,961,277,050.05.

Appropriations by first session, Sixty-fifth Congress: Urgent deficiencies, military and naval, \$3,281,094,541.50.

Bond issue and cost of printing bonds, \$3,007,063,945.46.

War risk insurance, \$35,000,000.

Food control act, \$152,500,000.

Aviation program, \$640,000,000.

Minor appropriations, \$150,027,820.10.

Total appropriations second session, Sixty-fourth Congress, and first session, Sixty-fifth Congress, \$9,226,963,357.11.

Additional credits asked for by McAdoo, 5,000,000,000.

Grand total appropriated and asked for, \$14,226,963,357.11.

The latest request for funds upon the government was made by Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo. It was for an additional war credit of \$5,000,000,000 required for the mobilization, training and transportation of the new national army. The Examiner continues:

"A startling summary of war appropriations to date, which was presented to the Senate by Senator Reed Smoot of Utah shortly before Secretary McAdoo's request went before the finance committee, pointed out that, although this was only the first year of war for the United States and we have hardly started, the grand total of appropriations made and asked for to date exceeded by several billions the bond issues of England and falls short of England's outright total by only \$1,288,037,000."

"Here are the contrasting figures as taken from the speech of Senator Smoot:

**UNITED STATES.**  
Appropriations to date.....\$ 9,226,963,357  
Additional credits asked for..... 5,000,000,000

Grand total.....\$14,226,963,357

**BOND ISSUES OF EUROPE SINCE WAR BEGAN TO APRIL 17, 1917**

Britain.....\$15,515,000,000

France.....10,532,000,000

Russia.....11,896,000,000

Italy.....2,590,000,000

Germany.....13,726,000,000

Austria.....3,652,000,000

Hungary.....1,730,000,000

"The new demand of the administration for additional billions will compel the revamping of the entire revenue program unless the government raises the needed money by bond issues. After the presentation of Secretary McAdoo's message the carefully worked out plans to raise \$1,650,000,000 by taxation looked like a drop in the bucket."

## Is Draft Law Constitutional? Brandeis Will Hear Argument

On July 19 Justice Louis D. Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court ordered Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman released from Federal prison on \$25,000 bail each, on a writ of error secured by their attorneys.

Berkman and Miss Goldman were convicted on the charge of conspiring to obstruct the draft.

The grounds on which the writ of error was obtained were that no evidence of conspiracy had been submitted, and that the entire conscription law is unconstitutional.

While the writ does not indicate Judge Brandeis' opinion that the law is unconstitutional, it seems to indicate that a sufficiently strong doubt exists in his mind as to leave room for argument that the law is in contravention of the Constitution.

The progress of the case will be watched with intense interest.

## We Hope It's True

William G. McAdoo, Wall street's personal representative in the Cabinet and in the President's own family, is being groomed for the next Presidential nomination, according to reports from Washington. These have been current for a long time, but the first open intimation that the plans were to be put thru came in a leading article in the Chicago Tribune of July 19, as follows:

"Meanwhile it is fair to say every cabinet officer is working on his job to the limit of his capacity. There are, of course, certain personal ambitions lurking in the background. It is probably impossible to spend a year or two so close to the steps of the throne as a cabinet position without feeling more or less strongly the call of the presidential office."

"It is capital gossip that at least five of President Wilson's cabinet ministers harbor distinct presidential ambitions. It is certain, for instance, that the friends of Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo think the Council of National Defense is not likely to be as successful as it would be if their hero were a member."

"Does he not have to furnish all the necessary money?" they ask, scathingly."

All that any Socialist could ask is that the Democratic party should nominate the President's son-in-law for President. This theory of the heir-apparent to the throne, of a Crown Prince by right of succession, is the last step needed. It would deliver the American Republic, without a tremor of doubt or hesitation, into the hands of the Socialists.

## Now! Is The Best Time To Solve The Food Problem, Mr. Hoover!

Thru one of his secretaries, Mr. Herbert Hoover, who is being urged by the administration as food dictator for the United States has answered the letter of The American Socialist's editor in reply to Hoover's request for publicity for his "Food Saving Day" campaign.

Mr. Hoover has been trying to persuade the American people that they waste too much food. The editor pointed out that the great mass of the people did not have any food to waste and urged that the government confiscate the food industries and operate them for the common good. Mr. Hoover, however, feels that it is a condition and not a theory that confronts us. He says:

Washington, July 9, 1917.

Mr. J. L. Engdahl, Editor, The American Socialist, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

My dear Mr. Engdahl:—Mr. Hoover desires me to acknowledge yours of June 22nd.

I am certain it will not be possible for us to agree upon all of the points mentioned in your letter, but since it is a condition and not a theory that confronts us, and since all the things you desire cannot be attained at the present time, is it not wise for us to do what we can now, leaving those things which are unattainable until there is a better chance for reaching them?

That is one of the reasons why I am anxious for your co-operation.

Faithfully yours,  
R. L. WILBUR.

To which the editor of The American Socialist replied as follows:

Chicago, Ill., July 30, 1917.

Mr. Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C.  
Dear Mr. Hoover:—Pardon my delay in answering your letter of July 9th. I have been in Washington doing my bit in the struggle to keep a free press alive during this war. You have probably noticed in the daily press that a score of Socialist, radical and pacifist publications have incurred the wrath of the post office department.

The crime of these publications seems to be that they are applying their theories, which all the world now confesses to be perfectly sound, to a condition that everyone, in high and low places, admits to be intolerable.

The condition confronting us is a few making millions in profits out of the helplessness of the many. This is true of the food industry more than of any other. The theory to remedy this condition is the public ownership of the food industry.

The socialization of industry is becoming more and more common. So is the confiscation of industry.

The hold-up methods of the express companies resulted in the establishment of the parcels post, which will ultimately wipe out the privately owned carriers.

Now, by act of congress, the whiskey industry is about to be wiped out as a means of food preservation.

The whiskey trust is in business for the same reason that the food trust is in business—not for the love of it but to make money. The food trust is just as rapacious now as the express companies or the whiskey barons ever were.

If the government can confiscate the express companies and wipe out the whiskey trust, it can also take over the food industry, NOW! If the nation will take over the production and distribution of food, the experts say, there need not be a hungry man, woman or child in all the nation.

It is declared by the experts in Washington that the government could, if it would, within two weeks, take over and run every railroad in the nation. I am merely repeating what men in public office, who claim to know, say.

I certainly agree with you that it is wise for us to do what we can now. The disagreement is over what can be done. The masters of industry, the big exploiters, and those who stand by them, claim of course that robbery in the production and handling of the necessities of life, should not be abolished. The people, who are being robbed, and the many who sympathize with them, a daily increasing power in the nation, is clamoring for the abolition of this robbery, because they know it can easily be abolished, and because it ought to be abolished now.

Now is the best time to solve the food problem and there is only one way of solving it. Let the government confiscate the food industries of the nation and operate them for the common good. All else is a makeshift and mere temporizing.

Very truly yours,  
J. L. ENGDAHL,

Editor, The American Socialist.

P. S.—Would it be too much to ask for a statement as to your position on the socialization of the production and distribution of food?—J. L. E.

A handbill depicting a coffin marked "U. S. A." and underneath it the words, "Before you enlist have your measurement taken", caused the arrest of George Koop, Socialist candidate for mayor of Chicago in 1907, and prominent in anti-war activities.

Mine owners in the Leadville, Colo., district threaten to close down their mines until the unrest settles again.

## AMERICAN SOCIALIST

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J. L. ENGDAHL.....Editor

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 4, 1917.

## The Senate Must Speak!

James Hamilton Lewis, Senator from Illinois, urged in the Senate chamber that this country make to Germany a statement of peace terms and war aims, in reply to Chancellor Michaelis' address to the Reichstag. He was met with an instant storm of ridicule and abuse.

Why?

We are told "we must lick Germany before we can begin to talk of peace." This is brag and bluster the bluster of a small boy. The lives of millions of Americans are too sacred, too precious, to be wasted to make good the boast, "We can lick you!"

Senator Borah on July 26 told the Senate, "The hour for sacrifice has arrived."

"Never at any time in this struggle has the outlook been as serious as at this time," he said, "Russia to all appearances is out of the conflict, because of internal conflicts. What does that mean to the people of the United States?"

"The situation is here, and the hour for sacrifice has arrived."

Sacrifice for what? For an empty boast?

Borah demanded an immediate statement of our terms.

"Give the American people an American issue to fight for, and an American issue to die for," he demanded. "If the senate realized that this was an American war they would not be sitting here passing on the advisability of voting millions of dollars for creeps that will not float a duck!"

Why should the United States Senate, coequal in treaty making power with the President, ask, beg and plead for a clear statement of terms? Why should it not MAKE a statement of terms?

Moment by moment the imperative necessity grows that his be done. For moment by moment the United States is being committed by spokesmen who have no right to speak for us, to a policy of territorial grabbing for the benefit of the capitalists in England and France.

General Pershing is reported to have told the French Deputies that America has staked her last dollar and her last drop of blood—to get Alsace-Lorraine back for France.

Who authorized Pershing to make this pledge for us?

Premier Ribot and Foreign Minister Viviani have told the French Parliament that the President has pledged the full resources and power of the United States to get Alsace-Lorraine back for France.

Who authorized them to make this pledge?

Lord Northcliffe told a New York mass meeting that one more step has been taken in the Federation of the American Republic with the British Empire. What Benedict Arnold authorized him to say this?

FOR seven centuries Alsace-Lorraine has been a battle ground; seized first by Germany, then by France, then taken back again. The reason for its seizure is its immense deposit of coal and iron, which the capitalists of France wish to secure.

Has America been pledged to shed her last drop of blood and to spend her last dollar to give French capitalists the right to exploit the labor of coal and iron miners of Alsace-Lorraine in preference to capitalists who speak guttural German and give their orders thru Berlin?

ALREADY the world has been assured that the Berlin to Bagdad railroad must not remain in the hands of those who built it—namely the Deutsche Bank and the ring of capitalists which works thru that corporation. In whose hands shall it then remain?

Prof. George H. Mead of the University of Chicago writes lengthy articles to assure us that if Germany retains this railroad there can never be peace, because it threatens England's commercial predominance in the Near and Far East; consequently America must take it away from Germany—and give it to England.

The reason why England retains India is, first, for purposes of loot; one billion dollars a year is wrung from the starving millions of "England's brightest jewel." Secondly, hosts of worthless scions of a worthless aristocracy are saddled upon the wretched natives of that once great Aryan nation, in all sorts of civil and military posts, highly paid and demanding little work. If the Berlin to Bagdad railroad is allowed to slip wienersurst and sauerkraut into India, it might stiffen up the natives of India to the point of revolt; and already this free and independent Republic has imprisoned 126 sons of India for "conspiracy" on the ground that they sought to set India free.

LET US HAVE AN AMERICAN ISSUE! If we must fight, let us fight for some American cause.

What then shall be done with this railroad? If the war involves a struggle between steamship lines and railroad lines for access to new markets, what shall be done with the means of access?

INTERNATIONALIZATION is the answer. Internationalize the Berlin to Bagdad railroad; so that all nations may ship their goods with equality upon its trains.

Internationalize the Suez canal and the straits of Gibraltar; internationalize the Kiel Canal; internationalize the Panama Canal.

All international routes must be so internationalized that EVERY NATION shall have equal rights in the shipment of its goods over any and all international routes. This is a corollary of peace.

WHAT shall be done about Alsace-Lorraine? That must be an independent state.

Belgium is not a nation. It is an artificial state. The Flemings speak a dialect half Dutch and half German; the Walloons speak French. Belgium is composed of two totally different nationalities, held together in an artificial union which has never become a real one.

But in guaranteeing the independence of Belgium, the great powers have reared a buffer state between France and Germany on the north. To erect that buffer state again is one of the aims of the war.



THE PROFITEER.  
This cartoon first appeared in the London Bystander, and was reprinted in the New York Tribune of July 22.

## Greedy, The Supreme Traitor

A national scandal has been precipitated by the row between Col. George H. Goethals and William Denman, over the construction of ships for the merchant fleet.

It was more than a national scandal. It was international. If the frantic cablegrams from London, passed by the British censor, are true, to the effect that the submarines are now sinking a million and a half tons of British shipping every month, this controversy, which has delayed for three months the building of the big shipping fleet, has given the German Empire more aid and comfort than any other one thing since the war began.

If this be treason, who is the traitor? What is the cause of this controversy?

Goethals wants quick ships, good ships, and steel ships. Denman wants quick ships, and says that wood ships must be used to satisfy the demand for speed. When Goethals came into power as head of the shipbuilding commission his first act was to cancel all the contracts and agreements that had previously been made and start all over again. Denman, a railroad man, was appointed head of the shipping board, and began at once to criticize Goethals. The builder of the Panama Canal made contracts with the United States Steel Corporation for steel at \$95 a ton. Denman called this excessive and refused to pay the figure. Hence the quarrel.

The Steel Corporation stubbornly held out for its high figure, which was \$35 a ton in excess of previous contracts. Because of this stubbornness of the Steel Trust in demanding its excessive profits on a national necessity, the whole program of the United States and its Allies has come perilously near wreckage.

The traitor, if such there be, is neither Goethals nor Denman but the Steel Corporation. The traitor is not Schwab nor Grace, but the master which drives them all; it is Greed. Greed is the traitor; and Greed is in control of our whole industrial order today.

We Socialists have pointed out since we began to be that Greed is the supreme traitor, and that the private ownership of a public necessity gives Greed clear sway over the lives of men. Now in this hour of national crisis our claim stands proved.

It is past belief that the American people will let this illustration of the truth of our charges pass without remedy. There is only one way out:

The people thru the Government—yes, thru the existing government—must seize hold of all coal, iron, lead, zinc and copper mines, all oil wells and all railroads. These must be operated for the benefit of all the people without profit.

Then it will be our task to democratize these industries, and thereby to democratize the government.

It must be done—it shall be done. And we are going to do it.

The expenditures of the United States are proportionately ten times greater than they were at this time last year. The expenditures for the first twenty-one days of the present fiscal year beginning July 1, average \$27,105,749 a day, against an average of \$2,619,444 a day for the same period last year. The total expenditures for the same twenty-one days is \$625,602,622, against \$60,247,208 for the same period last year. Great Britain is spending \$34,000,000 a day.

Federal intervention is being sought in the fruit and vegetable cannery strikes in California.

More than 11,000 coal miners are on strike in England.

The farmers are urging the government to take over all terminal storage facilities, elevators and warehouses and thus destroy food and cotton speculation.

Unrest in Michigan's iron country is being met with threats by the mine owners.

Doctors, lawyers and business men are being sworn in as deputies to fight the strike of Springfield, Ill., street car men.

President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor is trying to democratize the army by protesting against college boys being chosen officers in place of "muscular, mature, practical workmen."